6815

THE PARTITION EXAMIN'D: AND ITS REJECTION BY THE French King FULLY STATED.

Non decertandum esse, nisi summa Necessitudo, aut summa occasio data est. *Dictum Lu. Æmilii Pauli Gell. L. XIII. c.3.*

Οὐδενὶ χρὴ τηλικαύτην συνηγωνιᾶζειν δυναστείαν, περὶ ἧς περὶ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων ἔξεστι δικαίων ἀμφισβητεῖν. Polyb. *L.1. c.83.*

LONDON:
Printed, and are to be Sold by *A. Baldwin*, near the *Oxford-Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, 1701.

THE

PARTITION

EXAMINED:

AND ITS

REJECTION

THE

FREED KING

TRULY STATED.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Non decet tantum etc. nisi finitus Necessitudo, aut finitus vocatio data est. Dalym. in Hemsh. Hist. Gall. L. XVII. c. 3.

Polyb. L. I. c. 83.

LONDON:

Printed and to be Sold by A. Dublin, near the Orchard-Gate in Middle-Lane. 1701.

THE PARTITION Examin'd: AND Its Rejection by the *French* King, Fully Stated.

THE Obſervation of the Son of *Syrac* was not unworthy our Remark, That by unrighteous Dealings, Injuries, and Riches got by deceit, the Kingdom is Tranſlated from one People to another. From which Remark, as by the Rule of Contraries, we may aſſure our ſelves, That Juſtice is the firmeſt Foundation of a laſting Settlement: So from this Maxim of State, we may be likewiſe ſatisfied, that no Nation is of long Date, where injuſtice generally and publickly prevails; for this will at length baffle all the Strength of Arms, and the Stratagems of Council, and moſt infallibly break forth into utter Ruin, and terminate in Calamities and Confuſion. *Cap.* 10. *Ver.* 8.

It muſt therefore be the greateſt Wiſdom not only in Princes, but in all obſcurer Perſons, to pay a juſt Veneration to this ſublime Vertue of Juſtice, and maintain it Regent over all their Actions and Deſigns; and as they tender the Welfare of their Affairs, to abſtain from the leaſt Violation of its Sacred Rules. But we find by Experience, that Men in general are ſcarce ſo

much their own Friends, as to practice its Precepts universally, and erect it the Standard of all their Deeds: For if we may judge of such Actions as are Notorious and obvious to every vulgar Eye, we must needs confess, that this Thought of the *Athenian*, *Thucid:* L. 1. rather takes place, and may be made the Motto of several Persons, in our Days, *Equitatem nemo unquàm tanti fecit ut oblatam occasionem aliquid vi consequendi ob eam è manibus dimittèret:* Which is, That Equity was never yet in so great Esteem, that for its sake a Man would neglect an Opportunity of obtaining any thing by Violence. Whether all the Allies of *England* have kept themselves clear of this Character, it would be too assuming for me to determine; And whether the late *Tripple League* was not design'd to Anticipate all such Injurious Practices, we cannot with any face of Modesty question: And yet since *France* has accepted of the whole Dominions of *Spain* for one of her Princes, when a part of them only was allotted her by a profes's'd and inviolable Ratification, what Measures must we take to persuade our selves, that, That Contract has suffer'd no Diminuation? *But a Kingdom is the best Casuist, which speedily solves those knotty Questions, that use to puzzle the Title and Equity of possessing it.* —— If Men indeed will plead for the Clemency of the *French*, and their great Self-denials; if they are Enamour'd with their *Sabots*, and would make us believe their *Dragoons* are no more than *Don Quixot*'s Knight-Errants; if they tell us that the spirit of Ambition is ceas'd from that Place, and all thoughts of a Recompense are quite laid aside, for those vast Sums of Money already expended for compleating an Universal Empire; They may then likewise tell us, That the *French* Interest in *Spain* will gain no Opportunity of aggrandizing her self from thence, nor be any ways injurious to *Europe*. But

there

there are ſurely few ſuch Strangers to the Ways of *France*, that can eaſily be Proſelited to ſuch Opinions, that will not be as ſoon perſuaded, That a Savage Tyger will never Ravage again becauſe he has been a while bound up in Chains; or, that an Elephant in his Oyl will not be violent and outragious.

Can we fancy that the Foreign Influence of *France* had no hand in the Nomination of a Succeſſor to *Spain*? or, that That Kingdom will totaly withdraw her Authority from thence now after his Creation? That if the *Spaniſh* Grandees were Steer'd in their Counſels by the Compaſs of *France*, before the Death of their Monarch, that the *French* will omit the uſe of ſuch means, as may ſupport thoſe Directions after his departure: Eſpecially conſidering, that a Young Prince of their own Blood is by Appointment to ſucceed him? Theſe are things that will not eaſily be believ'd even by ſuch as believe *Infallibility* and *Tranſubſtantiation*. So that the publick Management of theſe Affairs, as they at preſent ſtand before us, will not give us leave to doubt, but that tho' the Regents of the Duke of *Anjou* live in *Spain*, yet the Superior Regency will be in *France*, which either by Dint of Stratagem, or of Arms, will impoſe thoſe Laws they have ſo long deſired upon that adjacent Kingdom. And for this End we ought to conſider how much the *Spaniſh Flota* will ſail under the Convoy of the *French* Fleet, and how ſoon the *Straits Mouth* may be made as impaſſable as the *Dardenells*. We ought to conſider likewiſe, whether thoſe *Weſtern* Veins of Gold and Silver, which us'd to feed the Coffers of *Europe*, muſt not now Contribute their main nouriſhment to the decay'd Wealth of *France*? A Conſumption we know may be altogether as dangerous as a Stab; and if the *French* King ſubſtract the Support of our Strength, by incommoding of our Traf-

ſick, eſpecially this profitable one to *Spain*; we may as ſoon fall a Sacrifice to his ambitious Deſigns, as if he aſſaulted us with naked Sword; and if the Exportation of our Manufacture of Wool be once prohibited its Paſſage into the *Mediterranean*, that Darling Commodity of *England* may ſoon become a Staple Incommodity to it; which will be apt to affect the Nation with ſo ſad and general a Calamity as will raiſe Complaints among the *Weavers*, and other Perſons, as much louder than thoſe of *Spittle-Fields*, as the Noiſe of a Cannon exceeds the Crying of a Child: But if it is once in the Power of a Monarch of *France* to Attack our Kingdoms, both by Policy and Storm, how can we expect to live without Danger of both thoſe Cauſes of Deſtruction from him? And though perhaps we may meet with the good Fortune to have our Deſtiny a while deferr'd, yet *Ulyſſes* his Fate will be the utmoſt Favour we can probably expect, which is to be the laſt Eaten up.

But the *French* Monarch deſigns no Acceſſions to his Glory; the Trophies of Honour he has already gain'd are enough to ſatisfie his Ambition; and permit but his Grand-child peaceably to wear the *Spaniſh* Purple, and the World ſhall be never any more amus'd with the Noiſe of his Fleet or his Campaigns. Have not the Foreign News convey'd to us ſufficient Teſtimonies of his Character, repreſented ſo frequently by his own Subjects, "As a Prince pleas'd with the Poſſeſſion of his "own Dominions, and at perfect Enmity with War; "the ſafeſt Neighbour and the firmeſt Friend; and de- "monſtrating plainly by all his Actions, an unbiaſs'd "Inclination to a general Peace? Theſe are *Eulogiums* indeed very floridly Penn'd, but how fine ſoever they appear, we are not ſo weak as to think, that the Forming of them has not a much greater mixture of Rhetorick than Reality; and rather gives us a ſight of the

Ingenuity,

Ingenuity of the Orator, than of the Dignity of the Prince; As bad Diamonds are beſt ſet off with good Foils.

Since the Duke of *Anjou* is appointed to ſucceed in the *Spaniſh* Sovereignty, will the King of *France* then Renounce all his Intereſt in the late *Partition*, in favour of that young Prince? Is the Title of Grandfather to the King of *Spain*, more weighty, and momentous with him than the Dukedom of *Milan*, and the Kingdom of *Sicily* and *Naples*? or has he been wont to exchange extent of Dominions, for a lofty Name, and to Surrender his pretenſions to Empire, out of Civility and Friendſhip? Or would not rather the ſacred Tye of the *Tripple Aſſociation* ſo lately Eſtabliſht, have kept his Faith firm to it, had not a more probable proſpect of Advantage preſented it ſelf to his view, from this ſudden Revolution? If this is not the Common Method with *France* of proceeding after this manner, from what *Epocha* muſt we date this new Exemplary probity of her Morals? What Criſis muſt we aſſign for theſe Self-denials of her Policy? For, what advantage is this to *France*, to have it proclaimed, tho' it were with Thunder, That a Prince of hers, now Rules in *Spain*, were it not that She hopes to wield the Bolt that may ſtrike Terror and Confuſion in other Nations? For if this be all ſhe aims at, to Solace her ſelf with the Pleaſure of ſeeing her Kindred Kings, She has enow of them already; The *Emperor* and the deceaſed King of *Spain* were both of them Brothers in-Law to the *French* King: And yet that was no Amulet againſt his Invaſion of them. The Poet's Obſervation may reach us ever in this Caſe, and ſatisfie us, what little agreement there is between *Majeſtas & Amor*; between the ſpirit of Government, and the Love of Conſanguinity; between a Crown, and the Endearment of Relations.

I cannot

I cannot think that *Lewis* the XIV will at preſent attempt any thing directly againſt the Intereſt of *Philip* the V. of *Spain*; that would look with too early, and unnatural Rigour, and too bare-fac'd an Imprudence; He'll rather make uſe of him as a firm Ally, and enter into as ſtrict a League with him, and the Regency, as he did with *England* and *Holland* at the Time of the *Tripple Alliance*, and may be perform it as punctually too; For if the *Emperor* endeavours to make out his Title to *Spain*, with all the Puiſſance of his Arms and his *Aſſociates*; who but the mighty and experienc'd Warriour of *France* will be capable of repelling his Martial Force, and of protecting the weak Minor of *Spain*? and will not this of neceſſity gain him a good Opportunity of Gariſoning the *Spaniſh* Towns with *French* Soldiers, and of obtaining an Aſcendant over *Flanders*? will not this give him likewiſe, a fair Occaſion of Fortifying the Principalities of *Milan* and *Naples*, and ſending his Armies into *Cicily*, tho' it were at the Hazzard of a ſecond *Sicilian-Veſpers*? To lay Pretences, is none of the leaſt of his perfections; and theſe we know have been formerly done with great facility by other Princes, particularly by *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, who ingaged in a War with the Inhabitants of the *Iſland Corcyra*, only becauſe their Anceſtors entertain'd *Ulyſſes* about 100 years before.

And if *Spain* muſt be thus obliged to *France* for her Safety and Preſervation, what Recompence muſt ſhe be obliged to make for all this Expence of Men, and Wealth? How will ſhe ever again arrive at a Capacity of caſting off the *French* Authority, and managing entirely her own Affairs? *when a Perſon once makes himſelf neceſſary to the Fortune of his Friend, he in a great meaſure entitles himſelf to be Maſter of it too.* When the *Romans* had left our happy Countrey, which obey'd their Empire for above

above 400 Years, *Vortigern* the *Britiſh* King, made ſuit for ſuccour to the *Angles*, a *Saxon* People, againſt the Invaſions of the *Picts* and *Scots*; but as ſoon as theſe Diſturbers were repelled by the Valour of theſe new Aſſiſtants, the *Britains* found more hardſhip, from the oppreſſions of their foraign Friends, than they formerly underwent from the Impoſitions of their nearer Enemies; for the *Saxons* over-run all *Britany*, but the inhoſpitable Mountains of *Wales*, and laid that load upon the Nation, which they pretended to eaſe it of.

'Tis not improbable the *Spaniſh* Grandees, ſo far influenced the laſt Will and Teſtament of their King, as to ingage him therein to the Nomination of a *French* Prince, rather than of a *German*, becauſe the former would be qualified by the Aſſiſtance of *France* to defend his Dominions, with more ſafety than *Spain* could be protected by the Aid of Arch-Duke *Charles* of *Auſtria*; Eſpecialiy Conſidering that the Emperor's Forces were at a Diſtance, and that a Potent *French* Army, then Quarter'd upon the Confines of *Spain* in *Catalonia*. This in great probability was the main Spring that raiſed the Duke of *Anjou* into the Throne. And it may be the prudence too of this *Spaniſh* project, was gilded over with *Lewis d' Or's*; however this in the mean time I cannot but take notice of, That ſince *France* by Sacred Compact did utterly renounce all Claim to *Spain*, upon the account of the Marriage of *Maria Terreſia*, Infanta of *Spain*, to *Lewis* the XIV in the Year 1659. which Renunciation was ratified at *Fonterabia*; that this ſolemn Abjuration did hereupon plainly imply thus much, That the Kingdom of *Spain* was hereditary according to the ſtanding Opinion of both Nations, otherwiſe that memorable Compact was utterly impertinent, and unneceſſary, and as inſignificant in that Caſe as

any

any Romance. If *Spain* therefore is hereditary, as is apparent by these proceedings of the two Kingdoms, then the Bequeathing of it at the Discretion of the Monarch *Charles* the *Second* lately deceased, argues as much Irregularity, as Weakness; and shews, that there was too intimate a Sympathy between the Imbecility of his Mind, and of his Body; and that before his Expiration he had as little strength of Intellect, as Constitution; for his Entrails were rotten, his Heart without blood, and his Brains were dissolved into a Slimy Humour.

Since it has therefore been the Fortune of the *Emperor* to marry *Margaretta Terresia*, younger Sister to the *French* Queen, in the Year 1665. and the Succession of both these Collateral Branches is cut off, the one by Mortality, and the other by Abjuration, the Title seems to divolve upon the *Emperor*, as nearest Relation by the Female Line, in as much as he is the only Heir of *Ferdimand* the *First*, Brother to *Charles* the 5th. Son to *Philip* of *Austria*, and *Joanna*, Daughter and Heiress to *Ferdimand* King of *Spain*. By this Lineal Descent the two Sisters being laid aside, he claims an undeniable Property in the *Spanish* Territories; and were his Possession of them consistent with the Safety and Repose of *Europe*, his Enjoyment of them would be much more warrantable than that of the Duke of *Anjou* by an unwarrantable Will. For the Kingdom of *Spain* was either Hereditary, or it was not; If it was not Hereditary, why did the *French* Queen, wtih all the Princes of the Blood Abjure her Title to the Possession of it, and the Title of her Children, and Descendants, in what Degree soever, in case her Brother died Childless? If it was Hereditary, how can a Prince of *France* accept of the Claim to it by the Strength of the King of *Spain*'s Will, and not by Hereditary Right?

For

For the *French* King, I presume, by this late action, would never have entered into the *Tripple Association*, had he been satisfied that his Grand-child would have been chosen to succeed to all the Territories of *Spain*; or if he thought he had had an undoubted Hereditary Right to the whole, we can scarce convince either our selves, or him, that he should be content with a small Share of it. To relinquish such large Interests as these, might suit perhaps with the Crazy disposition of some dying Monarch, whose declining Spirit had sunk him below all hopes of any future Advantages from this World; but he whose Genius raises his Expectations to new Acquests of Wealth and Honour daily, can scarce be thought liable to such a voluntary Mortification. Besides, we cannot much question, but the Monarch of *France* would have firmly stood to the Proposals of Dismembring the *Spanish* Dominions, and strenuously asserted his pretensions to that Share which was agreed upon, had *Charles* the *Second* of *Spain* as entirely bequeathed the Succession of his Crown to Arch-Duke *Charles* of *Austria*, as he has done to the *Dauphin*'s Second Son: For what else could it be but the Jealousy which he entertain'd of the Emperor, that ingag'd his Compliance in this Treaty with *Britain*, and the *United-Netherlands*? But now it seems that the Disjointing of the League must yield to the Union of the Empire. A League which being observed, would have kept the *English* and *Dutch* Interests as much more inviolable, and safe, as it is more Convenient for the Forces of *France* to be Quarter'd beyond the *Alps*, than Border upon the Low-Countries, and mix with the *Spanish* Troops nearer Home.

Had *Holland* been Supine and Careless in a matter of this high Concern, her Provinces might have been

reduced, before they were aware, to their former desperate Condition in the Year 1579, when their State was represented upon a *Medal*, which they caus'd to be Coin'd, by a Ship Adrift at Sea, without Sail or Rudder, expos'd to the mercy of the Waves, with this Inscription, *Incertum quo fata ferunt.* And if the Confidence of their own strength should keep the *English* Lyons *Dormant*, till the Danger do's Surround them, they may want an Opportunity to be *Passant* when they come to be awake.

Whether *Germany* or *France* lays the fairest claim to the Sovereignty of *Spain*, this Treatise does not undertake to Determine; The Right of Succession surely devolves entirely but upon one. But were the Power of *France* strengthened with such an Addition of Empire, as large as that of *Spain*, or the State of *Germany* inlarged with a Dominion so prodigious; 'twould be a difficult Task, for the Treaty of *Westphalia*, to Balance the Force of the *Emperor*, or that of *Nimiguen* or *Ryswick* to Restrain the Ambition of *France*; and therefore the Prevention of such a growth of Empire, as might be ruinous to the States of *Europe*, and especially to the *Protestant* interest, is that which seems to justify this Treaty of Alliance between the *English*, and *Dutch*, and *French*. And if it can be but made evident, that the Foundation thereof was Equity, 'twould be very agreeable to the wishes of all admirers of Tranquility, to find the Superstructure, Universal Peace. Why *France* in this League so far observed the Articles of *Renunciation* as to accept only of a Share of *Spain*, I cannot determine; but that it was reasonable for *England* to ingage in the *Partition*, is what we now proceeed to Consider.

IT was formerly a Law among the *Jews*, That if a Beaſt ſhould deprive a Man of his Life, the Beaſt ſhould loſe its Life for his: And ſo tender were other Nations of their Safety and Preſervation, that they were wont to deſtroy the very Inſtruments of any miſchief or misfortune to Them. And therefore in *Demoſthenes* Orations againſt *Ariſtocrates*, and *Æſchines* againſt *Cteſiphon*, it appears by the Laws of the *Athenians*, that if a Stone, or a Hatchet, or any ſuch thing, were an Inſtrument of Homicide, they ſhould publickly be expoſed in the Council-Houſe, as it were to Condemnation and Puniſhment. For this Reaſon the *Thraſians* caſt *Theogenes* his Statue into the Sea, becauſe that ſome Body by chance was cruſh'd by it. If the Law then of Nations made ſo great an Account of the life of Man, as to expreſs their Indignation even againſt a ſenſleſs Creature that had injured him; what Singular regard ought to be had to the Communities of Mankind, to whole Kingdoms and Nations? How much Precaution and Foreſight ſhould be imploy'd for their Continuance and Preſervation? And of what ſevere Penalties may they be thought worthy, that are noxious, and deſtructive to Them?

Now ſince publick Enemies ought to be treated with the moſt publick Infamy and Abhorrence, and to be looked upon as the Common Peſts to Mankind; with what ſacred Eſteem ought the Conſervers of them to be honoured, and how loudly ſhould their Actions and Advice be eccho'd through the World with general Approbation and Applauſe? And of all ſuch as lay Claim to this Univerſal Eſteem, none certainly ought more

highly to be thought of, than ſuch as devote their Power and Talents to the Preſervation of Unity and Friendſhip among Princes, and fixing their Subjects in an undiſturbed Peace: For as Peace in general is the Nurſe of Plenty, the great Encourager of Traffick, and the Parent of Proſperity; ſo it is the Cement of good Neighbourhood and Correſpondence, and ties the whole Earth together into one amicable Society: *Pacis Indolem ſolus homo Intelligit*, ſays the Civilian. Man of all other Creatures knows only beſt how to Cultivate and Improve thoſe ſeveral Duties and Obligations which may procure and preſerve a mutual Good Underſtanding and Amity. Therefore ſays *Quintilian*, Declam. 9. *Natura præter cætera animalia induit noſtris pectoribus quandam Societatem, quæ mutuo gaudere congreſſu*, &c. "Nature has made Man beyond all other "Animals inclined to Society, which perſwades us to "take Complacency in Converſation, to unite our "ſelves, and build Cities; and notwithſtanding all the "various Inclinations that ſhe endows us with beſides, "has really beſtowed none upon us which is compara-"ble to Benevolence. *Fidem colere*, (as he tells us a "little after) *amoris gratiam referre*, &c. To keep "Faith, and to return an Act of Kindneſs, was a Prin-"ciple, and as it were a ſacred Concern at all Times, "and among all People.

But tho' Friendſhip and Kindneſs, contrary to the Doctrine of Mr. *Hobbs*, are ſo connatural to the genuine Temper of Man, and are particular Qualities and Perfections, which in a great meaſure diſtinguiſh him from all other Terreſtrial Beings, yet ſometimes this Benevolence is highly provok'd; the moſt peaceable Diſpoſition is ſometimes exaſperated and incens'd; and

tho'

tho' a Man be never ſo inoffenſive in himſelf, yet are we ſure that offences will come; and that Feuds and Quarrels will as certainly ariſe in the Rational World, as Storms and Tempeſts in the Natural. And becauſe Nature has endowed Men with a very ſharp Senſe of ſuch Injuries as ſhe is paſſive under, on purpoſe to deter them from being active in them: And has furniſht them likewiſe with Activity and Strength to repel an Onſet, and Vindicate their Innocence againſt Violence; 'Tis conformable therefore both to the Law of Nature and of Nations, and no way diſſonant to ſacred Truth, to aſſert our Juſt Rights againſt ſuch as Endeavour to invade them, to procure from others, what is properly our Due; and to require a Reparation of ſuch Damages as are imperiouſly caſt upon us, with a Solemn Tie and Obligation againſt all Injuſtice and Violence for the future. And therefore the Defence and Preſervation of our Rights againſt ſuch as would violate and abuſe them, and the demand of Reſtitution for Damages ſuſtain'd, with Competent Caveats and Proviſions againſt ſuch Injuries for the Time to come, were always eſteemed Subſtantial Motives, and fair Arguments for encouraging Hoſtility and Arms. Not but that common Equity will diſſuade us from all Cauſes and unwarrantable Diſcords; and common Prudence dictate to us the Neceſſity of Conſulting what is moſt for our Safety, and whether a greater ſhare of Profit, or Loſs, will accrue to us from ingaging in Military Affairs.

Three Juſt Cauſes of War.

The End therefore of all War is the Maintenance of our ſelves, and our Concerns in Peace; And tho' Evil Men undertake it of their own accord, yet Good Men Ingage in it by Conſtraint, according to the Obſervation of *Maximus Tyrius*, Diſſert. 14. Φαίνεται τοίνυν πόλεμος

λεμῷ τοῖς μὲν δικαίοις ἀναγκαίῳ τοῖς δ' ἀδίκοις ἑαυτῷ. And as long as we ingage in it upon juſt grounds, and have no means left of ſetling our Affairs but by Dint of Arms, they may reaſonably be enter'd into upon ſuch an Account, and an Adverſary may be compelled to Conditions of Peace, tho' it be with ſome Detriment and Harm to Him; conformable hereunto was the Opinion of *Themiſtius Orat.* 10. Πόλεμος ἆθλον εἰρήνη, καὶ στατέουσιν αἷς ἀνάγκη, οὐχ ἵνα διὰ πέλους στατέωσιν ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀσφαλῶς ἡσυχάσωσιν; which is as much as to ſay, that the Reward of War is Peace; and ſuch perſons as are neceſſitated, do ingage in it, not that they may always wage War, but that they may ſafely enjoy themſelves in Tranquility and Reſt.

From theſe Conditions of a Juſt War, we come next to conſider thoſe Cauſes of it that are unjuſt; which though they may be many according to Men's vicious Appetites and Propenſions, yet are they generally Commenc'd either from a covetous deſire of Wealth, and Ambitious thirſt after Sovereignty and Dominion, or a vain Affectation of Praiſe and Glory; and ſometimes they all concur in the ſame Undertaking: as is obſerved of *Alexander*'s Expedition againſt *Darius*, with whom the ſole motive of the Quarrel, which was pretended by the *Grecian* Monarch, was the Revenging the Injuries the *Grecians* ſuffered from the *Perſians*; tho' tis commonly judged, that thoſe unjuſtifiable arguments of Avarice, Vanity, and Ambition, were the main Cauſes. Indeed if any are of ſuch Sanguinary Tempers, as to quarrel with a Deſign only of ſatiating their Souls with Rivers of Humane Blood, and fight meerly for Deſtruction ſake; as this of all others is the moſt Barbarous and Inhumane principle, a perfect Ferity and Mad-

Madneſs; ſo 'tis but juſt that ſuch bloody Deſigns ſhould always receive their reward in Blood, according to the Fate of *Cyrus*, by the Order of *Tomaris* the *Scythian*, who commanded his Head to be cut off, for his cruel Deſigns, and thrown into a Veſſel full of Blood.

From theſe Preliminaries thus briefly adjuſted, we come next to conſider the Preſent State of the *Tripple League* in relation to the *Spaniſh* Succeſſion; and how very Juſtifiable that Solemn League is by the Law of Nature, and of Nations. In this *threefold Alliance* it is agreed upon by the Royal Conſent and Authority of His Majeſty of *Great Britain* and the *French* King, with the *States of Holland*; That upon the Deceaſe of the Monarch of *Spain* without Iſſue, the Dominions of *Naples*, *Cicily* and *Milan*, with ſome others, ſhall devolve upon the Dauphin of *France*, and all the Reſt of the *Spaniſh* Territories upon his moſt Serene Highneſs Archduke *Charles* of *Auſtria*, the Emperor's Second Son: ſo that neither *Germany* nor *France* ſhall entirely ſucceed to the *Spaniſh* Monarchy. The Reaſon of this Inhibition, is the laudable Deſign of conſerving the general Peace of *Europe*, and of maintaining particular Princes in their ſeveral Rrerogatives and Rights, againſt the Dread of Conqueſt and Uſurpation from an Irreſiſtible Strength and Force. For it is concluded, that were either *Spain* and *Germany*, or *Spain* and *France* united under one Head, and Cemented into one Government, that this Head would be much too large for the reſt of the Princes of *Europe* to endure, whoſe Sovereignties by degrees would be diminiſh'd, and in time reduced to be only ſo many Languiſhing parts of that vaſt Body. For what power in *Chriſtendom* would then be able to Bridle the Ambition of ſuch a Monarch? What Bounds could be

be ſet to Curb the Deſigns of ſuch a Formidable Cemented Strength? How eaſily might the leaſt Affront occaſion a Sudden bloudy War, and induce the mighty King to draw his Sword, whom all the Arguments and Foreign Strength would not perſwade to Sheath in Peace. *Gravis per Naturam hominibus, quæcunque in vicino modum exceſſit potentia, & ad inferendas injurias parata,* Procop. Hiſt. Goth. L. 1. *A Neighbouring Power that grows exorbitant, and is always in a readineſs for miſchief, is naturally grievous to Mankind.* And when our Perſons, and all we poſſeſs, were at the Diſcretion of ſuch a Conqueror, provoked by our vain Struglings for our darling Liberty, and Irritated by our ineffectual oppoſitions, what glimps of Favour could be hoped for to comfort and ſupport our oppreſſed Spirits, eſpecially from Princes, who fancy a Claim to Mercy from the Merits of Cruelty, and whom the very Name of *Proteſtants* ferments into a violent Rage and Perſecution? Then might we too late lament thoſe diſmal Miſeries we laboured under; Then might we with many ſilent Groans, and unpitied Complaints, reflect upon our paſt Follies, and bemoan our preſent Woes, when by our wilful Inadvertency and Neglect, we ſenſibly find our Laws Diſſolved, and our ſacred Profeſſion ſmothered; our Rights Invaded, and Relatives brought into ſuch a hard and cruel Bondage, as would triumph in the Clemency of a ſudden Death. The Perſecutions of *France*, *Savoy*, and the *Palatinate*, are but too viſible, and yet but faint Emblems of thoſe more terrible Severities which the *Reformed* Intereſt muſt then fall under, to reduce it to a Sinking and Expiring State.

And that *England*, which is the Bulwark of the moſt holy Profeſſion, and the Sovereign Patroneſs of ſuch as

are

are distressed for the sake of it, may anticipate such Miseries, and opportunely obviate the like Fate; Our Excellent Prince entered into such a strict Alliance with *France* and *Holland*, as might, if faithfully attended to, have probably preserved her free from such Evils. And certainly *England*, which is so firm a Defence to other Nations, will never be so far misled as to overlook her own Safety; will never be so weary of her Sweet Tranquility and Ease, as to forfeit them for want of Vigorous and Timely Applications.

This gives us an Instance of that Wisdom of our Royal Sovereign, which is as unquestionable as his Valour; and which is no less Remarkable for its Equity, than Prudence of both; in which in this case there was ah appy Conjunction; both these eminent Vertues were Congenial to this *tripple* Undertaking.

For we cannot with any shadow of Charity affirm, that either Pride or Vain-glory, Covetousness or Ambition, which are the general Causes of an unjust War, had any hand in this Alliance on our side. Nay, if any Credit may be given to Royal Assurances, and the Solemn words of Princes, we are certified in the Preamble to the Article of the League, that the Design of the Confederates in this Affair was by *new Ties* to Strengthen the good Correspondence Re-established between his *most Christian Majesty, His Majesty of Great Britain, and the Lords the States-General, by the last Treaty concluded at* Ryswick, *and to prevent by Measures taken in Time, the Accidents that may create a new War in* Europe. And in the second Article of their Treaty 'tis affirmed, That the *Principal End* which these most potent Princes proposed to themselves in this Confe-

deracy, was to *maintain the General Tranquility of Europe.* To which Glorious Design every Person that is not at Enmity with Publick Happiness, or Enamoured with Dissention and Tumults, must needs wish a Good Success.

And since every Person concerned in this Treaty is capable of performing it, if he pleases: Since every Prince is Qualified for Putting this League in Execution, and nothing in all its Articles implies an Impossibility, which is one of the Essentials of all Civil Constitutions, it herein lays a Claim likewise to Equity; for the Imposition of things which are not possible, may justly be Branded with the name of Tyrannical Absurdity.

And since this Partition of the *Spanish* Territories does likewise contain so numerous Benefits, and diffusive Advantages, so many Publick spreading Conveniences, which should be fixt in the Eye of all Legislators, and is indispensably required in all Laws; Common Interest therefore must needs appear a Zealous Votary of its Establishments, and Right Reason will never be allowed to make any Demurs or Exceptions against it. For Reason is never at Enmity with Publick Justice and Equity, nor at odds with what is Right. There is a constant Harmony between good Sense and good Morality, and the League they have entred into, is Inviolable and Eternal, as will again appear from the following Consideration of what the Name of *Justice* doth Import. Now Justice, say the Lawyers, is a constant and perpetual Desire of Giving to every one what is their Due: and consists in these two Principal Offices, or General Duties; *viz.*

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In doing wrong to none, and rendering to all what they may lawfully Claim; which, According to the Phraſe of the Sacred Writings, is included in thoſe two Expreſſions, *Shun evil, and do Good.* This is a Vertue of ſo much Dignity and Neceſſity that *Ariſtotle* tells us, *It Excels the Morning and Evening-Star in Glory.* And *Tully* aſſures us, That it is a Tie, without which humane Society cannot ſubſiſt. Now ſince the Foundation upon which the *Tripple League* is founded, is a Willingneſs and Deſire of Securing to all the Princes of *Europe* their ſeveral Properties and Rights, from the baſe Attempts of any too powerful Invader; And likewiſe the rendering to all what they may lawfully Challenge, according to thoſe Meaſures and Rules of Equity which reſpect the Univerſal Tranquility and Publick Good; We muſt therefore acknowledge, that theſe Articles of the Treaty were modell'd by the Laws of this Fundamental Vertue of Juſtice; That they were carried on with a perfect Knowledge and Underſtanding of the Preſent State of *Europe*, and finiſh'd in an abſolute Defiance to the biaſs'd Friendſhip of an Immenſe Grandeur, or an unlawful Gain; which would have ſtained their Purity, and have libell'd their Reputation. The Goodneſs of this League will likewiſe appear from the Conſideration of what the *Civilians* count *Unjuſt*: For *Injuſtice*, according to them, *contains an abſolute Contrariety and Oppoſition to a Nature that is Rational and Sociable.* By the Firſt of theſe, are excluded all Animals but Man, from being capable of Acting unjuſtly, becauſe they are Deſtitute of Reaſon: And by the Second, As whatſoever is Deſtructive of Society muſt be deem'd Unjuſt; So, on the contrary, whatever is agreeable to the Publick Safety and Happineſs of Communities, muſt carry the Character of

Juſtice with it. *Societas eo Tendit*, ſays *Gro. de Jure Bel. & Pac. ut ſuum cuique ſalvum ſit communi ope & Conſpiratione.* This is the meaning of Society, That every Man may enjoy his own by common Aſſiſtance and Conſent. And this was apparently the main Drift and Deſign of this Ratification, to preſerve all the *European* Princes in their particular Rights and Prerogatives, their Properties and Peace, and ſeaſonably to prevent the Injurious Invaſions of any Domineering Neighbouring Prince: For though it is true indeed, that the Princes of *Italy* do very much dread the Dangerous Neighbourhood of the *French*, and might think themſelves extream unſafe in his Poſſeſſing the *Spaniſh* Dominions in thoſe Parts; yet ſince the Valour of the *Switzers*, their Neighbours, has formerly Defeated an Army of 100, 000 Men, under the Command of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Emperor*, all the *Italian* Princes, were obliged for their own Safety to have a watchful Eye over all the Motions of the *French*.

The hoſtile attempts that all theſe might make, might, upon this account, either Opportunely be defeated, or elſe meet with a much warmer Diverſion than they might expect.

However, the aim it ſeems of this Agreement was carefully to preſerve the Power of *Europe* in an equal Poiſe, that the hands of none of her *Princes* might grow too ponderous for the reſt, and cruſh their feeble Reſiſtance by their Neighbourhood and Weight. To this purpoſe is that Ingenious Alluſion of the Moraliſt *Seneca Oedipo*,

Stat ingens arbor, atque umbrâ gravi,
——Silvas minores urget.

Here ſtands a huge Tree, that with its troubleſome Shade diſturbs all the Lower Wood. And when the Luxuriant offenſive Power of ſome lofty Potentate is ſet on work to cruſh the weaker Princes that are near him, 'tis high time to think of Lopping off ſome of his vexatious Branches, and keep them within more moderate Bounds. The famous People of *Lacedemon* thought it a warrantable Cauſe of War, in that the *Athenians* had exceedingly increaſed their Strength; as *Thucidides*, l. 1. *Belli Peloponeſiaci veram Cauſam cenſet fuiſſe vires Athenienſium augeſcentes & Lacedæmoniis ſuſpectos*, as *Grotius* obſerves.

The Suſpicion which the *Lacedemonians* entertained of the Growing Strength of *Athens*, was thought a reaſonable motive for ingaging in the *Peloponeſian* War. For as every individual Man is the moſt careful to preſerve his Life, as a thing that is moſt Dear and Valuable to him: So the Life and Safety of every diſtinct Community conſiſts in their Freedom and Immunity from all ſuch Foreign Forces as might eaſily Cruſh and Diſſolve them. And therefore whatſoever is noxious to the Ligament and Safety of Communities, muſt be deemed Unjuſt.

We may add to this, the Diſcourſe of *Epicurus*, which is excellent. "As Juſtice has been contrived and "appointed for the Publick Good, it muſt needs "follow, that the Right and Equity which it chiefly "reſpects, is good for each Individual perſon that "conſtitutes a Society. And becauſe every one deſires naturally that which is good for himſelf, it muſt needs

needs be, That what is Right or Juſt is according to Nature, and by Conſequence muſt be ſtyl'd Natural. Therefore, to ſpeak properly, Right or Natural Equity is nothing elſe but what is mark'd out by Utility or Profit; or that Utility which by Common Agreement has been appointed, That men ſhould not injure one another, nor Receive any Wrong, and Live in Security, which is a Real Good, and therefore naturally deſired of every one. By which we ſee, that ſuch as attempt to deſpoil their Neighbours, and rob them of all their quiet Poſſeſſions, act contradictory to Natural Equity, and by the Laws of Natural Equity ought to be reſtrained and confined within bounds, by the common Conſent of Mankind.

And in another Place the ſame Author argues much to the ſame effect, after this manner: In a word, a thing is, and ought be reputed Juſt, or to have the Qualities of Juſt, in a Society, if its Uſefulneſs reſpects all the Individuals aſſociated: But if it be not ſo, 'tis not properly to be called Juſt, nor deſerves to be ſo eſteem'd. So that if a Thing, or an Action, having been uſeful in a Society, if by any Accident, or by any Alteration, this Uſefulneſs begins to ceaſe, that thing will alſo ceaſe from being juſt; it being no longer ſo, than only while it continues Uſeful and Profitable to Society. And thus I ſuppoſe every one will Judge, who ſuffers not himſelf to be miſled and blinded by vain and frivolous Diſcourſes, but has a General Reſpect to all things. Now according to this Notion of Government, which is ſo neceſſary for the Welfare of Societies, that without it there would be no ſtanding Order or Regulation: If Government, I ſay, either in private Aſſemblies, or more General Adminiſtrations,

tions, becomes once Burthenſome or Oppreſſive to the Publick, it ceaſes then to be reputed Juſt, and ought to be Regulated according to the Standing-Rules of Uſefulneſs or Equity. And according to this method, the weighty Affairs of Princes, in relation to the Common Good of Mankind, ought to be managed; and if their Strength or Authority are very like to be highly prejudicial to their Inoffenſive Neighbours, and Detrimental to Innocent Commerce and Converſation; they then are in a fair way of quitting their Title of being Juſt, becauſe they are likely to be no Longer uſeful, but prejudicial; and therefore ought by General Conſent and Endeavours to be reduc'd to act according to the Standard of Common Juſtice, and of Univerſal Good. He that places the Welfare of his Kingdom in the Diſturbance and Injuries with which he Moleſts other States, puts them upon a vigorous and juſt Oppoſition of him with all their Might. And becauſe an Extravagant Power does fairly give the ambition of Man an Opportunity of Recreating it ſelf, with inſulting over others; therefore did the late Treaty wiſely provide againſt all Exceſs of Might in any Chriſtian King, that the reſt might not be in Danger of falling Victims to his Inordinate Deſires.

For what can be the meaning of the ſeveral Treaties among Princes, for engaging them to ſurrender the conquered Towns and Countries, and thoſe vaſt Additions of Territories to their Crowns, which became their property by the Fate of Arms, but only the maintenance of Univerſal Peace, and ſecuring the Particular Intereſts of Kingdoms and States? For Right of Conqueſt is as indiſputable as Right of Succeſſion, which

which frequently owns its Authority to, and is derived from the force of That. And therefore if Right of Conqueſt is often alienated to a former Claimant for the ſake of the Common Good; why ſhould not in ſome Caſes the Right of Succeſſion be interrupted, when it moſt probably threatens an Invaſion of the general repoſe of the World, and is like to involve it in an inevitable Calamity and Diſturbance? The outward Grandeur of Governours muſt always yield to the Common Happineſs of Mankind, which is the main End of all Municipal Laws, and Fundamental Conſtitutions, and of all Civil Governments and Societies.

Again, there are few ſo obſtinate, I fancy, as to deny but that the goods of private perſons, however acquired, may be diſpoſed of for the neceſſity and extreme advantage of the Commonwealth. And if this be conformable to Equity, is it inconſiſtent with that ſacred Rule to advance a little higher, and canton out a more publick concern for the preſervation of the publick Welfare, and avoiding ſuch Combuſtions and Diſorders as may be fatal to the generality of Mankind? That which beſpeaks it to be Equitable in one caſe, will not determine it to be unjuſt in the other. Life, we know, is much preferable to Wealth or Riches; and yet *Ribicius* the *German* ſacrificed even That for his Maſter *Maurice* D. of *Saxony*, and covered his Body with his own to preſerve him from the Rage and Ferity of the *Turkiſh* Soldiers; and thought it not only an inſtance of Gallantry, but of Duty in him, becauſe his Maſter was a publick perſon, in whoſe life the Lives and Welfare of a whole Community were involved.

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I know the Caſuiſts tells us, *Ut ad Arma propter cauſam nondum liquidam decurratur lex naturæ non permittit.* The Law of Nature prohibits the taking up *Arms without a clear reaſon* for it. But then they allow likewiſe that a Moral Probability may juſtifie it; and that this is cauſe ſufficient for commencing a hoſtile Engagement and Diſpute; *Metus ex vicini viribus & Potentia collectus, ad juſtam Belli cauſam non ſufficit, niſi de animo nos ladendi Certitudine moraliter evidenti conſtet:* It is not *the bare fear of a Neighbouring Power and ſtrength, that can juſtifie a pretention to War, unleſs we are perſwaded there is a Moral certainty of danger from him.* And where there is ſuch a Perſwaſion, the very inſtinct of Nature will urge and excite us to means for avoiding it. Would *Porſenna* have indur'd the ſight of a Fatal Dagger immediately threatning his Breaſt, and not preſently extorted the dangerous weapon out of *Mucius Scævola's* Hand? or would any man ſubmit to the terror of ſitting under a pointed Sword, depending only on a ſlight thread, and not either remove his ſeat, or ſecure the weapon by a ſtronger Ligament from falling? and when we have no tyes upon the power of a Neighbouring Prince, no Arms of Defence to ſecure us from his threatning Weapons; will not the Law of Self-preſervation inſpire us with caution againſt his attempts, and adviſe us by all laudable means to reſtrain that force we are ſo much afraid of? The certain fear of an Eminent Danger naturally excites our utmoſt Endeavours to prevent it, and ſharpens our Induſtry for our ſafety; eſpecially when all our Lives and Fortunes are in probable hazards from a potent Monarch, whom the leaſt pretence can furniſh with a Motive ſufficient for an Univerſal Ruin and Devaſtation; and therefore to ſhorten the ambitious Conqueror's Sword, and put a period to

his Martial progreſs; to moderate his licentious deſires, and change his intended Triumphs of War into the milder Proclamations of Peace; is no way diſtaſteful to the common Sentiments of Mankind, nor repugnant to the moſt honeſt Minds. Common Prudence will perſuade us not raſhly to expoſe our publick Intereſts to the moſt Candid foreign Powers, nor to live at the diſcretion of that Benevolence, which permits us to be no more than Tenants at will to its pleaſure; for Power and Opportunity of Conqueſts are very dangerous Temptations, and generally too hard for humane Nature to contend with. *Gliſcens nimium vicini potentia in deliberationibus ſuper Bella magnum habet momentum, cum experientiâ compertum ſit, pleriſque una cum viribus etiam dominandi libidinem Creſcere*, ſays the Learned *Puffendorf: When a Neighbouring Power begins to be too great, it carries with it a mighty ſway in all Warlike Conſultations, ſince 'tis found by Experience that the ſtronger Men grow, the more deſirous they are of Ruling.* For is humane Nature ſo much Retrograde in its perfection, reduced ſo near to the innocence of the Primitive ſtate, that fraud and hypocriſie can find no room in mortal Breaſts? That Pride and Ambition are perfect ſtrangers to our Conſtitution? or are we not rather convinced by innumerable demonſtrations, that Men ſtretch their deſires commonly according to their Fortunes, and *Amor ſceleratus habendi* increaſes with their large Poſſeſſions?

To ſecure our ſelves therefore from being made an unhappy Prey to Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and our Subſtance the Prize of any bold and powerful Invader, 'tis neceſſary that Men have recourſe according to the meaſures of the *Tripple League*, to wiſe and provident Conſultations, that they ſubſtract the Fuel from ſuch Flames as are apt to kindle into an univerſal Conflagration;

on; ſtop the concourſe of ſuch Rivers as are likely to increaſe into a general deluge, and prudently to prevent the Conflux of ſuch Evils as may ſoon mu'tiply into an intolerable Grievance. For to hover in Debate till all our Fortunes are a floating, to be inſenſible of our Dangers, till we are rous'd from our Security with the violence of the flames about our Ears, and to ſit ſtill with our Hands upon our Breaſts, till the Naked Sword is at our Throat, can plead nothing but Phrenzy for its juſtification. The Ruin of *Perſia*, as it ſtands recorded in Hiſtory, may ſerve inſtead of a Thouſand Monitors to all Princes to put them in mind, with how watchful an Eye they ought to look upon the Valour and Deſigns of any Potentate; ſince that vaſt Empire by confiding in its own Strength, and contemning the Imbecility of others, fatally invited its own overthrow, and that by a Nation ſo obſcure and contemptible, as *Macedon*. And therefore 'twas much more adviſable, and regular, what the ancient *Greek* Author mention'd, *Appianus Alexandlibico*, Ἐι χὴ φίλῳ ἔιν, ὦ χὴ ὑπερποιεῖν, ὑὸ ἐκεῖνῳ ἀμύτχῶς. *A Friend himſelf muſt never be allowed to increaſe his power beyond moderation*; for if he do, and the Reins of a Force, that is uncontroulable, be put into his Hands, 'twill be difficult to curb his impetuous Career, till he over runs all that ſtands before him.

I will ſum up the ſubſtance of all this Topick in few words, according to the Verdict of a Renowned Worthy of our own Nation, the Lord *Verulam*, in his Eſſay of Empire: *Kings have to deal with their Neighbours, their Wives, their Children; firſt for their Neighbours; there can no general Rule be given, the Occaſions are ſo numerous, ſave one which ever holdeth; which is, That Princes do keep due Centinel, that none of their Neighbours do ever grow ſo, (by increaſing of*

Territories, by Embracing of Trade, by Approaches and the like) as they become more able to annoy them, than they were: this is generally the work of ſtanding Counſels to foreſee, and hinder it. During that Triumvirate of Kings, King Henry *the Eighth of* England, Francis *the Firſt of* France, *and* Charles *the Fifth, Emperour, there was ſuch a Watch kept, that none of the Three could Win a Palm of Ground, but the other two would ſtraightway Ballance it, either by Confederation, or, if Need were, by a War, and would not in any wiſe take up Peace at Intereſt; and the like was done by that League which* Guicciardine *ſaith was the Security of* Italy, *made between* Ferdinando *King of* Naples, Lorenzius Medices, *and* Ludovicus Sforza *Potentates, the one of* Florence, *the other of* Milan; *neither is the Opinion of ſome of the Schoolmen to be received, That a War cannot juſtly be made, but upon a precedent Injury, and Provocation; for there is no Queſtion, but a juſt fear of an eminent Danger, tho' there be no Blow given, is a lawful cauſe of a War.* And the eminent Dangers to which *Europe* would be expoſed in caſe of the King of *Spain*'s Death, was that which occaſioned this laudable Treaty; and not to ſee this Danger, which is ſo notorious, and which is loaded with ſo many black aboding Circumſtances, is, in a manner, to pretend Darkneſs at Noon-day; and aver there is no light in the Sun, becauſe we ſhut our Eyes againſt it. And to be ſatisfied of the reality of the danger, and not to take juſt Meaſures for averting it, would rather be thought a fit of Enthuſiaſm, than the product of a prudent Mind; for ſhall we expect that Heaven ſhould miraculouſly interpoſe, when Heaven has placed it within the Verge of Humane Power, to prevent the threatning Storm? This may more juſtly be cenſured for a tempting of Providence, than for a Religious dependance upon it: And would as little

comport

comport with the Rules of common prudence, as it would be, for a Man to leap down a Precipice in hopes of ſhortning his way by it; or to attend the management of a fierce Lyon in his full ſtrength; rather than the Taming of him, while he was a Whelp.

And as the pregnant ſigns of an Univerſal Monopoly, (ſhould the Territories of *Spain* be entirely annex'd, either to the *Empire*, or to *France*,) gave Birth to the Reſolutions of the Royal Alliance, to prevent an evil ſo univerſal; ſo the Native Bent of Mankind to repoſſeſs their darling liberty, whenever it has been uſurpt, demonſtrates plainly, what a grievous Burthen, ſuch a general Calamity would be to the Senſe of all the World. For if we will but give our ſelves leiſure to make Reflections, either upon Antient or modern Occurrences, upon thoſe Revolutions that have happened either among the *Greeks*, and *Romans*, or among the Chriſtian Nations ſince; we ſhall ſtill find them ſtrugling for Liberty, as often as they loſt that Happineſs, endeavouring to unite their Broken Strength, and revive that Honour, which was faded and thoſe Privileges that were ruined. And tho'tis certainly the Wiſdom of all Conquerors to oblige thoſe People whom they are able to ſubdue, with the Practice of their own Cuſtoms, and the uſe of their former Habits; yet neither would thoſe Indulgencies, nor the freedom of Enjoying their municipal Laws, bribe their Obedience any longer than the Conquer'd met with an Opportunity of caſting off a Tyrannical foreign Yoke. For it is the invincible deſire of Nations in general, as well as particular Men, zealouſly to Contend for Liberty, and the Security of their Right; and vigorouſly to oppoſe all attempts upon them, for introducing Slavery, and a Subjection Arbitrary and Servile.

Shall

Shall I recount to You thoſe long and Bloody Wars, occaſioned by the Death of *Alexander* the Great, when the ſeveral Generals, contemning the Conduct of one Supreme Head, debated their Succeſſion, to the Sovereign Dignity, in fierce and martial Conteſts? And acquaint you how that mighty Empire was diſſolved, when the Sovereign of it breathed his laſt? And that after his untimely Death, Three Kingdoms only, *viz. Macedon*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, continued, under the *Macedonian* Power, whilſt *Perſia*, and all the other States, broke looſe from the Imperial Chains? For what was the Conſequence of the Glory and Ambition of this victorious Warlike Hero, and of all that vaſt extent of Sovereignty, acquired by his famous Expedition, but only evil Diſcord and Commotions, flouds of Tears, and a deluge of Blood, and a reſtleſs, and fatal Conteſt for Supremacy? Whereas had theſe Kingdoms lived unconquered, had the Sword of *Alexander*, never unhinged their Sovereign Authority, nor cut them in pieces, as it did the *Gordian Knot*, their Peace would have been inviolate and ſecure; the noiſe of War would have been a Stranger to their Coaſts; nor would the Ejulations of Widows and Orphans, have diſturbed the Air at the loſs of ſo many brave Men. But as the Riſe of thoſe too Bulky Governments is founded commonly in Blood, ſo is the Fall of them frequently too; and from the beginning of their growth to their Period, there is little elſe but Tragedies, and Slaughter.

The *Roman* Empire gives us another unhappy proſpect of thoſe dreadful Calamities conſequent upon a Dominion that is arrived at too powerful a Head, and what little Safety can be expected from ſuch a Strength; for the wiſe *Romans* themſelves, when *Philip* King of *Macedon* was likely to ſwallow up all *Greece*,

Greece, entered into a League with those Cities against him, on purpose to divide that Power, which being United, was not a little to be feared; and did not those Antient, and Renowned Warriours quite overturn the Famous City of *Carthage* from the same Principle, because they saw it Contended for Superiority, and their Safety was much Endangered by its Security? And the *Tuscans* in *Italy* being Jealous once of so great a Strength as *Rome* Commanded, obliged the *Romans* to give them Hostages, that no Iron Work should be made among them, but such as was useful for Tilling the Ground: as *England* formerly used to oblige the *French*, to forbear the Building of Men of War, for fear that in Time they might annoy her own Coasts. And were not both these methods much more prudent than to suffer the number of *French* Ships to increase to that Degree, till for our own Safety it was requisite either to sink, or blow them up? and to forbid their forging of Hostile Weapons, than be forced upon the Danger to Wrest them out of the Enemy's Hands. And surely had the Adjacent Kingdoms been able to stop the flight of the *Roman* Eagles, or clip their Wings before they had stretcht them over their Dominions, the Slaughtered Carcases of their Subjects would never have been exposed as meat to those Ravenous Birds of Prey: nor would the loosing of their Rights, or the Vigorous attempts of recovering them again, have produced such frequent Depopulations. Upon these Accounts therefore it seems much more advisable, to prevent a growing mischief, than to Reform it afterwards; and according to the Judgement of the *Threefold Alliance* to hinder a most formidable Growth of *Empire*, than to let it alone, till the Increase of it endangers all the Liberty of *Europe*. As much more advisable certainly as it is to heal Symptoms of a Disease,

rather

rather than to cure a malady when it has got to a dangerous Head; to heal a ſmall Scratch rather than to let it Feſter into a mortal Gangrene: and therefore as Foreſight is a Gift of Nature, by which Perſpective we are happily qualified to view a Danger at a Diſtance; ſo is ſelf preſervation a Principle of the ſame kind, by which we are obliged to obſtruct and evade its nearer Approaches, and to Arm the Body Politick as well as Natural, againſt all the Storms of an impending Evil.

For why did the Provinces of *Guelders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Frieſland* and *Utrecht*, unite into one Common wealth, and Reject the Sovereignty of *Spain*, but only becauſe they were oppreſſed by *Philip* the II. and unable to endure the Violent Regency of the Duke of *Alva*, whoſe Tyranny was the peculiar Badge of his Authority; by which he boaſted that he cauſed to be executed by the common Hangman 18 Thouſand in 6 Years? For when the Severity of *Spain* render'd the inhabitants of the *Netherlands* uneaſie, who had formerly been accuſtomed to milder Adminiſtrations under the Government of their Dukes, and Earls, they reſolv'd to throw off ſuch a galling Yoke, and ſubmit themſelves to the happy Authority of ſuch mild Lords, as formerly had the Dominion over them, and who always obſerv'd this pleaſing Maxim, *To rule the People with Clemency*. And will not oppreſſion, which *makes a wiſe Man mad*, excite the moſt ſtupid to caſt off their Chains, and ſeek for Liberty? will not the low Countries juſtifie their Union and ſettlement, when they were conſtraind to it by inhumane Cruelty? And how commendable then was the Alliance of *England* and *Holland* with *France*, which mainly intended the Repoſe of *Europe*, the preſerving it ſafe from the intolerable Inſults of a *Philip* the *Second*, or a Duke *d' Alva*?

Did

Did not the States of *Switzerland* likewiſe freely enter into an Aſſociation againſt *Albert* the 1ſt. Emperor of *Germany*, for appointing ſuch oppreſſive Judges to Rule over them, as loaded their Country with grievous Impoſitions, and Burthen'd them with ſuch Severities as no Petitions were able to redreſs? And was it not the Inſolent Behaviour of the *Danes* in *England*, who committed ſuch outrages as were unſufferable, that expell'd that Government from among us, after it had inſlav'd us for the Space of 240 Years? And whilſt the awful Sword of the Conquerour is buiſy in laying heavy Loads upon ſuch as are unfortunately ſubdued, 'tis no wonder the Conquered ſhould attempt a Releaſe from ſuch hardſhips, and bravely exchange ſome of their Blood for the Purchaſe of their antient Rights. And therefore curbing the Deſigns of ambitious Men, and withholding from them the Opportunities of Cruſhing ſuch as are innocent and inoffenſive, muſt ſurely be deemed one of the moſt Friendly Offices to Mankind, and the Authors of it the moſt generous Patriots of the World.

Wherefore we find it the manifeſt Intent of this *Treaty*, to put ſuch limits to the Sovereign Powers of *Europe*, that none of them might appear too Terrible to their Neighbours, nor be placed in a Capacity of Univerſal Conqueſt, and Domineering over all the reſt. For where-ever there appears a ſtrong Deſire after an Univerſal Superiority, we cannot imagine that ſuch an immoderate Thirſt for Empire can be eaſily aſſwaged; or that any thing leſs than an abſolute Subjection will poſſibly quench the Heat of it. And it was the foreſight of ſuch a dreadful Miſery as this which invited our Prince to combine with others in this Treaty, and enter into a League for the timely preventing of ſo formidable an Evil, whereby they might

lay Claim to that neceſſary Caution of *Coriolanus*, mentioned in *Halicarnaſs.* πρῶτον ὑμῖν παραινῶ σκοπεῖν ὅσως εὐσεβῆ καὶ δικαίαν ποιήσητε τὸν πολέμου φόβαυ. That is,

But you ought above all things to take Care, That the Cauſe of your War be Juſt and Pious.

Having thus far conſidered the Reaſonableneſs of this *Treaty* in deſigning to obſtruct the Formidable increaſe of Empire, I come in the next place to give you a ſhort view of the ſeveral Deſigns, that have of late been carryed on in *Europe*, for arriving at an univerſal Sovereignty, and how Deſtructive they have been to its proſperity and ſettlement. And this muſt ſtill inhance our value for that Foreſight which eſpied ſuch Evils, and projected this League for Defending us from the Peril of Them.

The late Century has produced ſuch Remarkable variety of Affairs in the Alteration of Princes and their Intereſts throughout all *Europe*, as might be apt to make us conclude, That Arms and Policy, were arrived almoſt at the *Zenith* of their Perfection, and advanced to their utmoſt Pitch of Glory. And that the Governours in our Age had throughly digeſted thoſe Critical Obſervations delivered by *Tacitus* which Relate to difficult and troubleſome times; And that our Princes had Tranſcribed into their Government, all thoſe excellent Notions mentioned in *Xenophon's Cyrus*, which might render them great and wiſe.

It has been a general Ambition in Princes, both in this and the precedent Age, to extend their Dominions to the utmoſt Bounds, and fondly Aſpire after the pleaſing Poſſeſſion of what they thought an univerſal Monarchy; and for Confirmation of this, 'tis needleſs to ſtretch our Enquiries into the obſcurer Occurences of Antient Records, ſince we may be ſatisfied

fied in this Argument, by confining our ſelves within the Reign of *Henry* the 8th. or thereabouts.

'Tis obſervable therefore, as to the Spiritual Sovereignty of the Church of *Rome*, that ſhe has reſolved to maintain her Authority as large, and abſolute, by the pretended Strength of Chriſtianity, as any of her Emperours could ever arrive to in *Heatheniſh* Times. For ſtrugling with the Emperour for Temporal Dominion, under the notion and pretence of Spiritual, ſhe wreſted at length very large Poſſeſſions and Demeſnes in *Italy*. And as one of the Popes was pleas'd to call it, *They made uſe of the Sword of St.* Paul, *when they could not Conquer their Neighbours by the Keys of St.* Peter.

Thus *Rome* prevailed, not only over the Conſciences, but over the Goods and Fortunes of Men, which ſo far facilitated the Increaſe of the Power, and Conqueſt of her Governours, that their Neighbours ſubmitted to them as ſole Plenipotentiaries for this World, and indubitable diſpoſers of the next. And what a grievous Uſurpation this was, the *Reformation* can ſufficiently atteſt; eſpecially when that Tyranny was ſtrengthened by this awfull Impoſition, which pretended that *Hell attended their Curſe as unavoidably, as Heaven did their Benediction.*

But *Luther*, who was the Champion of Religion, and the Scourge of *Rome*, was the firſt that Curb'd this growing Cruelty. And with this Reformer, King *Hen.* 8. gave another fatal Blow to the aſpiring inhumanity of it; which felt the Force of his oppoſition ſo much the more, as it was ſtruck by a Hand that ſway'd a Scepter.

About the Time that the *Roman* Privileges began to ſink in *Europe*, did the Emperour *Charles* the 5th. by the Conjunction of the *Empire* and *Spain*, of *Flan-*

ders and the *Indies*, and his own Dominions in *Italy*, by the Reputation likewiſe of his Arms, not only in *Europe*, but upon the Coaſts of *Africk*; by all theſe eminent advantages, I ſay, did the ſaid *Emperour* make a very fair Advance towards an univerſal Monarchy. And it looked ſo probably, that it gave Occaſion to ſome ſpeculative *Spaniards*, to believe the Truth of it, and that *Spain* ſhould one Day be at the Top of it. But this Exorbitant Power received conſiderable Diminution by the Separation which the *Emperour Charles* made of the *Empire*, in beſtowing it on his Brother *Ferdinand*. Notwithſtanding which *Philip* the II. King of *Spain* encouraged himſelf with the Thoughts of being able to Recruit that Loſs, and fully to make amends for it. This Perſon was a Prince of great Sagacity and Foreſight, and as he had the good Fortune of wearing the *Engliſh* Crown, ſo was he very well ſatisfied of the Worth and Treaſure of theſe Iſlands; for Conquering of which, and ſubduing them entirely to his Authority, he equipped the *Invincible Armado*, one of the moſt Formidable, of any that ever floted upon the Seas. But 'twas well the invincibility of this dangerous Fleet had no better Authority than the *Roman* infallibility; and that, That kind Providence, which hath ſo frequently and ſo eminently appear'd in the preſervation of *England*, kept it at that Time from an invincible Defeat.

Beſides this Miraculous overthrow, both *France* and the *Netherlands* contributed mightily, but with much difficulty, to damp the Progreſs, and put Barriers to the aſpiring Sovereignty of *Spain*; which however, with the Acceſſion of *Portugal*, was an Empire ſo Voluminous, that *Philip* gloried in its Extent, and Boaſted, That *the Sun had his Riſe, as well as Setting in his*

his Dominions. For both the *East* and *West-Indies* were Tributary to his Crown.

But as all Things here are ſubject to Viciſſitudes; and Kingdoms, as well as particular Perſons have their Youth, their Manhood and old Age, as the Hiſtorian obſerves; So no ſooner did *Spain* begin to wain, but *France* was immediatly in the Increaſe. This dated her Spring from the other's Autumn, and grew more vigorous, as the other Decayed; for *Henry* the 4th. was a Monarch of ſo great a Soul and Genius; that he maſtered all thoſe Factions and Civil Broils wherein his Kingdom was involv'd at his Acceſſion to the Crown. He managed the publick Affairs with a Spirit of publick Government and Wiſdom; and he laid all his Deſigns ſo large, and concerted his Councels with ſuch ſingular prudence; he made ſuch vaſt preparations of Men, and Arms, and Treaſure, for War, that his Deſign was ſuſpected to be no leſs, than the Dominion of the World, at leaſt of our part of it, *viz.* of *Europe*. For what more is neceſſary for him that would be always ready for a Conqueſt, than ſuch means as he made uſe of? old *Rome* indeed, beſides all this, Increaſed her Riches, and preſerved her Reputation, and by Conſequence her Grandeur untainted and firm by the obſervation of theſe two memorable Rules; the One was, to bear up bravely againſt all Events, and never to ſhew the leaſt Signs of any Fear in the midſt of the utmoſt Extremity and Danger; the other was, to tranſplant the Wealthy Inhabitants of the Conquered Provinces, and Exchange them for the indigent Citizens of *Rome*. But the untimely Death of this Deſigning Prince put a Period to all this growing Glory; The loſs of whom was accurately ſupplyed by the Genius and Miniſtry of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who leaving Cardinal *Mazarine* in the Management of Affairs,

laid

laid the platform of that Greatneſs, to which the preſent King of *France* has arrived. And if a rich and Populous Country, if well choſen Miniſters, and ſteady Councels, well diſciplin'd Fleets and numerous Armies, give any Symptoms of a general Greatneſs, we muſt needs imagine that the Univerſal Monarchy is no longer likely to be a *Chimera*, but that it waits now more than ever the acceptance of *Lewis le Grand*. 'Tis true indeed, that the Timely relief which aroſe from *England* and *Holland*, put formerly a ſtop to thoſe Martial preparations and exploits. But ſince we cannot fancy now that the Armies of *France* are kept on foot to no purpoſe, we muſt needs Conceive, that as certainly as they are maintained, ſo certainly are they deſigned for the like Attacks, which nothing indeed, but the vigorous preparation of the antient Allies can with any Likelyhood withſtand.

But beſides the *Empire*, *Spain*, and *France*, the *Sweeds* have likewiſe once had the Fate of looking like the Conquerours of *Europe*; particularly when like an irreſiſtible Torrent, they bare down all the Banks of Oppoſition under the Conduct of that invincible Hero, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and deſcended into *Germany* ſubduing all before them. But here Deſtiny prevented the Danger by cutting him off in the Carreer of his Conqueſts, and left the aſtoniſht World only room to imagine, what ſuch a Conquerour might have done, had his Progreſs been equal to his beginning.

Nor was the *Turk* in leſs probability of obtaining this *Weſtern* Empire, and making *Conſtantinople* once more the Miſtriſs of her antient Dominions; when he came down unexpectedly upon *Vienna*, and fell upon the *Emperour* who was unequal to his Forces. Then did *France* expect to be called in to his Succour, which commanded one of the braveſt Armies in the World.

Both

Both these were emulous for Superiority in *Christendom*, both Rivals for the same unlimited Power in *Europe*, which must of Necessity have entirely submitted to either of their Triumphant Arms. With what grievous Calamities and Miseries *Europe* has been oppressed by all these aspiring Pretensions, 'tis needless now to insist on. The several Treaties that have since been made to hinder such fatal Events for the Future, are sufficient Arguments and Attestations of the Burthen they laid upon their Neighbours, the Removing of which for the Time to come was what the *Tripple-Alliance* did mainly contend for; and were this agreed to, according to the solemn avow'd stipulation, our Fears and Jealousies, might have lain more quiet, than now in prudence they can pretend to; For is not *France* a more dangerous Neighbour than the *Empire*, especially since she has got *Newport* and *Ostend*, *Luxemburgh*, *Charleroy*, &c? and has she not already given us very pregnant proofs of her Designs upon the *Netherlands* in that offer which she made the *Dutch*, of Redeeming the Frontier Towns for 5 Millions? and in the Change of her own obliging Style into the late assuming *Memorial* which she sent them? And if the *Dutch* should be distressed, *England* can never hope to Reign long in Safety. Has not the *French* King likewise offered his Assistance for Relieving of *Ceuta*, and told the Emperour of *Morocco*, that his besieging of that Place is the Affronting of *France*? and to impress his Authority the more upon his Grand Son, did he not enjoyn him with a peculiar Emphasis to remember always, That though *he was the King of* Spain, *he must never forget that he was likewise a Prince of* France?

Nor can *Portugal* expect to live very long an Independant Kingdom; since the manner of Quartering her Arms with those of *Spain* is but too visible an Indication of an ensuing subjugated Union.

And what can be the meaning of all these advances, and *Mementoes*, if we may depend upon these Reports, but to keep up his Power, and to Render himself as absolute in *Spain* as he is in *France*? and certainly *Spain* dare no more dispute his Measures and Proceedings, than a Lamb dare Contend with a Lyon, or a Dove flye in the face of an Eagle.

How-

How uncontroulabe therefore will the Power of *France* be when the Territories of *Spain* are ſo much at the Diſcretion of that puiſſant Monarch? and what a vaſt Extended Coaſt from *Dunkirk* to *Meſſina* will the *French* Fleet then without much difficulty Command? which may be ſufficient in a ſhort time, not only to damp the Capital Support of *England*, our *foreign Commerce*, but boldly to diſpute the Envied glory of our Iſland, the Sovereignty of the *Britiſh Seas*; and greatly obſcure that ſhining Title of our *Britiſh* Kings, *Pacis* Europæ *Arbitri*, *Marium Domini & Vindices*.

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But as *England* has had a very large Share in Reſtraining the Exorbitant Power of *Rome*, of the *Spaniard*, and the *French* in former Ages; it ſeems to be ſtill preſerved by a favourable Providence for Effecting the ſame at preſent, and giving Bounds to that Lawleſs Superiority which would infallibly enſlave her, and her Neighbouring Kingdoms. And notwithſtanding all the violence and ſtruglings of Foreign and Domeſtick Enemies, to be able ſtill, by the peculiar Bleſſing of Heaven, to let them know, that her watchful and vigorous Conduct, under a Wiſe and Martial Prince, is the Coaſt on which their Inſulting Waves muſt break; *hitherto They may Go, and no further:* and that our preſent Parliament of *England* is animated with one common Soul, for promoting and maintaining the common Good. And though the *Spaniards* confidently boaſt of their Hopes of ſeeing our Dominions very ſhortly obedient to the Popiſh Laws; and though, as we are credibly informed, the *French* King ſent lately to the Emperour to deſire his Aſſiſtance for rooting out the *Northern Hereſy*, to the end that King *James* may be reſettled on his Throne; yet if *England* is as true to her ſelf, as ſome of her Neighbours have been falſe, and as Zealous for maintaining the Purity of her Faith, as others are for deſtroying it; we need not to doubt but that ſhe may be able not only to preſerve her own Domeſtick Peace, but, with the help of God and her Allies, to let her Enemies know and feel, that the *Northern Hereſy* will be a Match ſufficient to reſtrain the Inſolence of the *Southern Idolatry*: Which God Almighty grant.

FINIS.